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Unit C

A large urn bearing a bowl cover, the inner surface of which bears a painted rectilinear design in red. The bowl is a large one, measuring forty centimetres across the top and fourteen in depth. In the bottom of the urn were found fragments of bones.

Unit D

A globular urn about forty centimetres in diameter, bearing rudimentary handles. It was covered with a bowl and contained disintegrated skeletal material.

Unit E

Urn of type (a), on which rested another urn of type (b), which was covered with a bowl. Both urns contained skeletal material.

Unit F

One of the largest urns taken out, measuring 1.23 metres in height, and .97 metre at the greatest diameter. This specimen is now in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. It bears no decoration. With the debris that it contained was found some skeletal material.

Unit G

A large urn of type (a), measuring .90 metre at the greatest diameter and an equal amount in height. The sides slope in abruptly forming shoulders, terminating in upturned rim collar. It bears no decoration. It likewise was originally covered with a bowl.

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BORORO DA CAMPANHA

While work continued at the cemetery site, a visit was paid to the remnants of the Bororo de Campanha, collected at a village locally known as Laguna.

B
361

The trip to Laguna was made in the company of Messrs. E. R. Fenimore Johnson, John S. Clarke, Samuel T. Hoopes, Floyd Crosby, the cameraman, and guides. The village is situated on some high ground, covered with palm and banana groves. It consisted of a few huts arranged haphazardly, with that of the headman at the edge of a cleared

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo. Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
583 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
[825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is
[162] another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[131] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named
[103] Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

361 [133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the [103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called [122] the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred [133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

123 [152] When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [141] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets
103 of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
114 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororô* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sængerfest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN THE RIO POGÚBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of the same tribe some twenty miles distant.

We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were compelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides, our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, wash-outs and streams, the banks of which were often nearly vertical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks, for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats, and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8 ●
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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Survey Map

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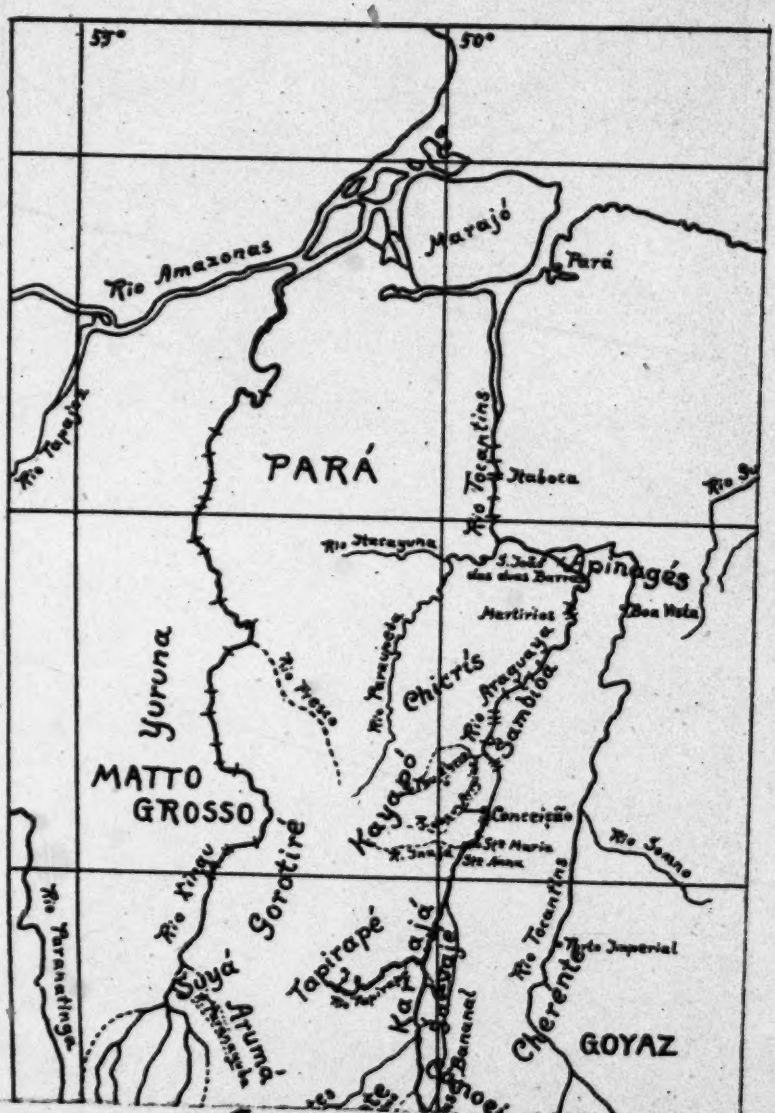
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Rio Amazonas
Marajó
Pará
Rio Tapajós
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Itabocal
Rio Itacayuna
Rio Araguaya
Yuruna
Rio Xingu
MATTO GROSSO
Rio Araguaya
Chicris
Rio Araguaya
Rio Tocantins
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[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Botoro SP8
Tapirape SP72

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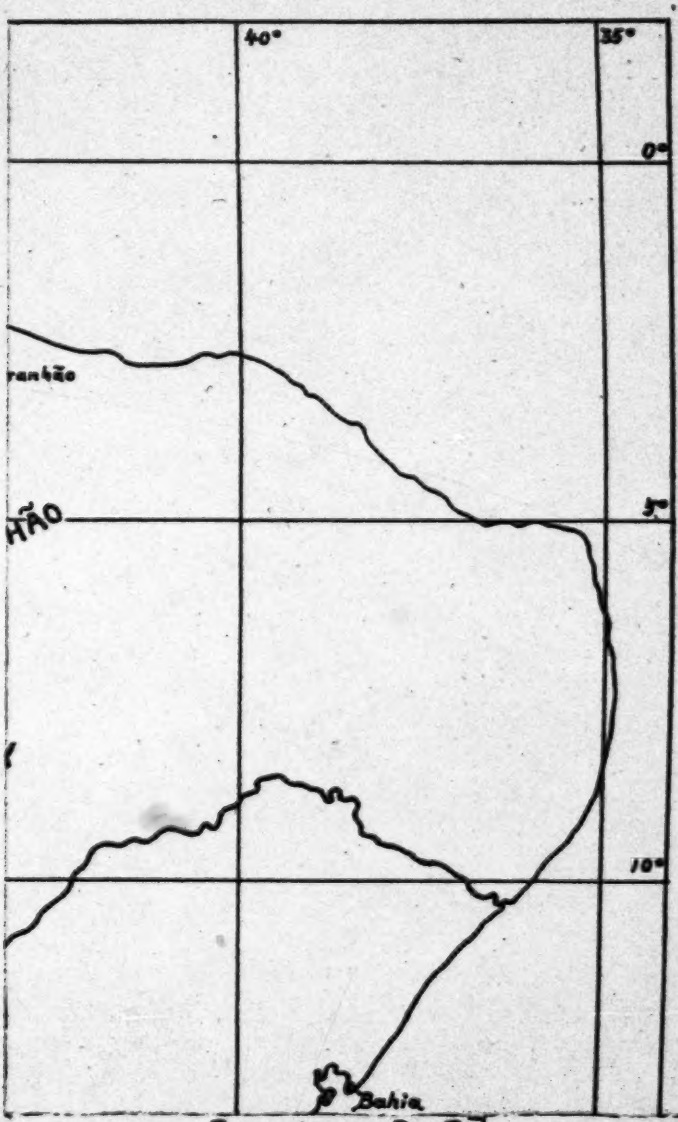

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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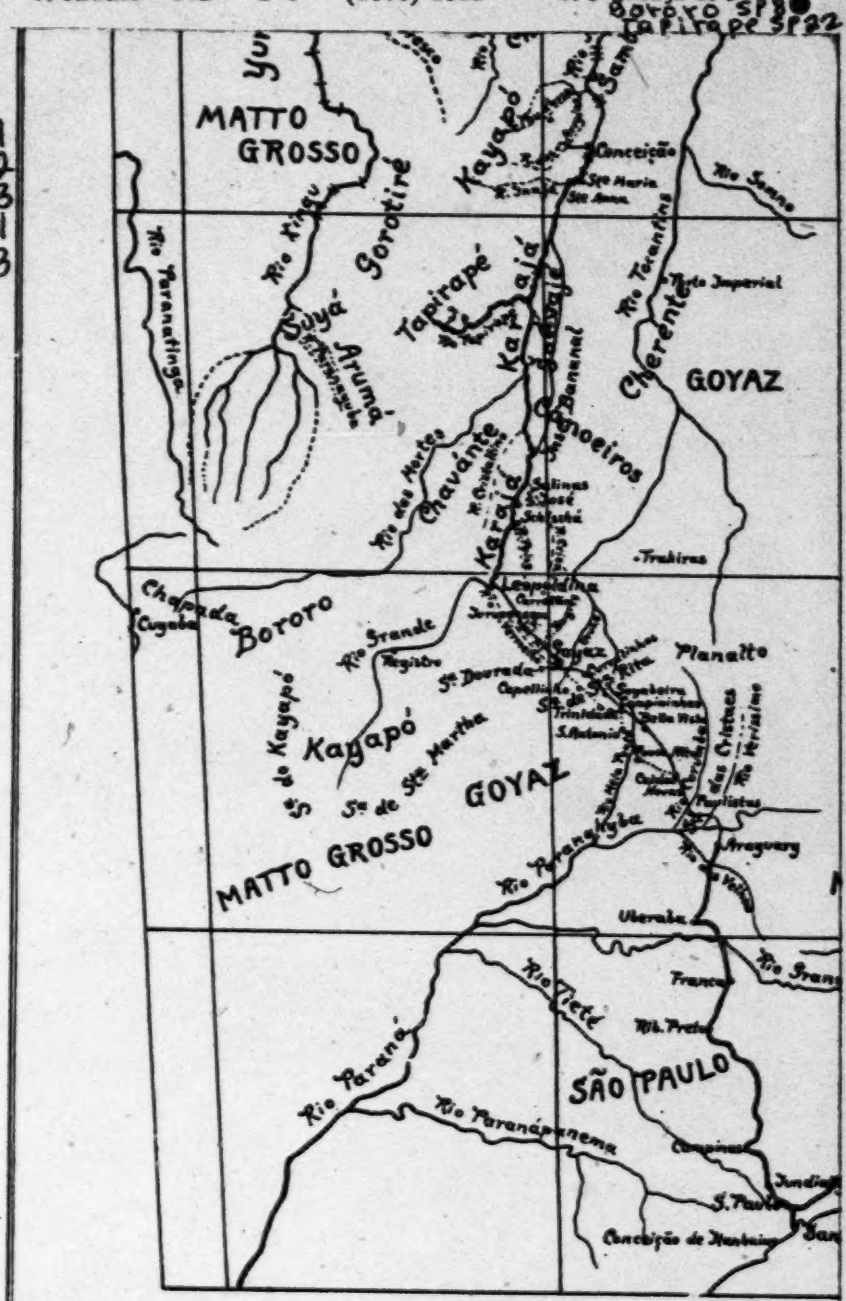
Bororo SP3
Tapirapé SP22
MATTO GROSSO
Kayapó
Gorotire
Rio Xingu
Rio Paranatinga
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jurua Imperial
GOYAZ
Tapirapé
Karaja
Chavante
Rio das Mortes
Rio Araguaya
Rio Grande
Bororo
Chapada
Cuyaba
Rio Registro
Rio Verde
Planalto
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paraná
Rio Tieté
SÃO PAULO
Rio Paranápanema
Uberaba
Araguary
Rio Preto
Rio Grande
Rio Verissimo
Rio Pardo
Rio Feio
Rio Tibagy
Rio Ivahy
Rio Pardo
Rio Iguassu
Rio Negro
Rio Uruguay
Rio Pelotas
Rio Canoas
Rio Ivahy
Rio Tubarão
Rio Jacuhy
Rio Taquary
Rio Caby
Rio Vacacahy
Rio Ibicuhy
Rio Santa Maria
Rio Ibicuhy
Rio Jacuhy
Rio Vacacahy
Rio Caby
Rio Taquary
Rio Ibicuhy
Rio Santa Maria

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8●
Tapirape SP22

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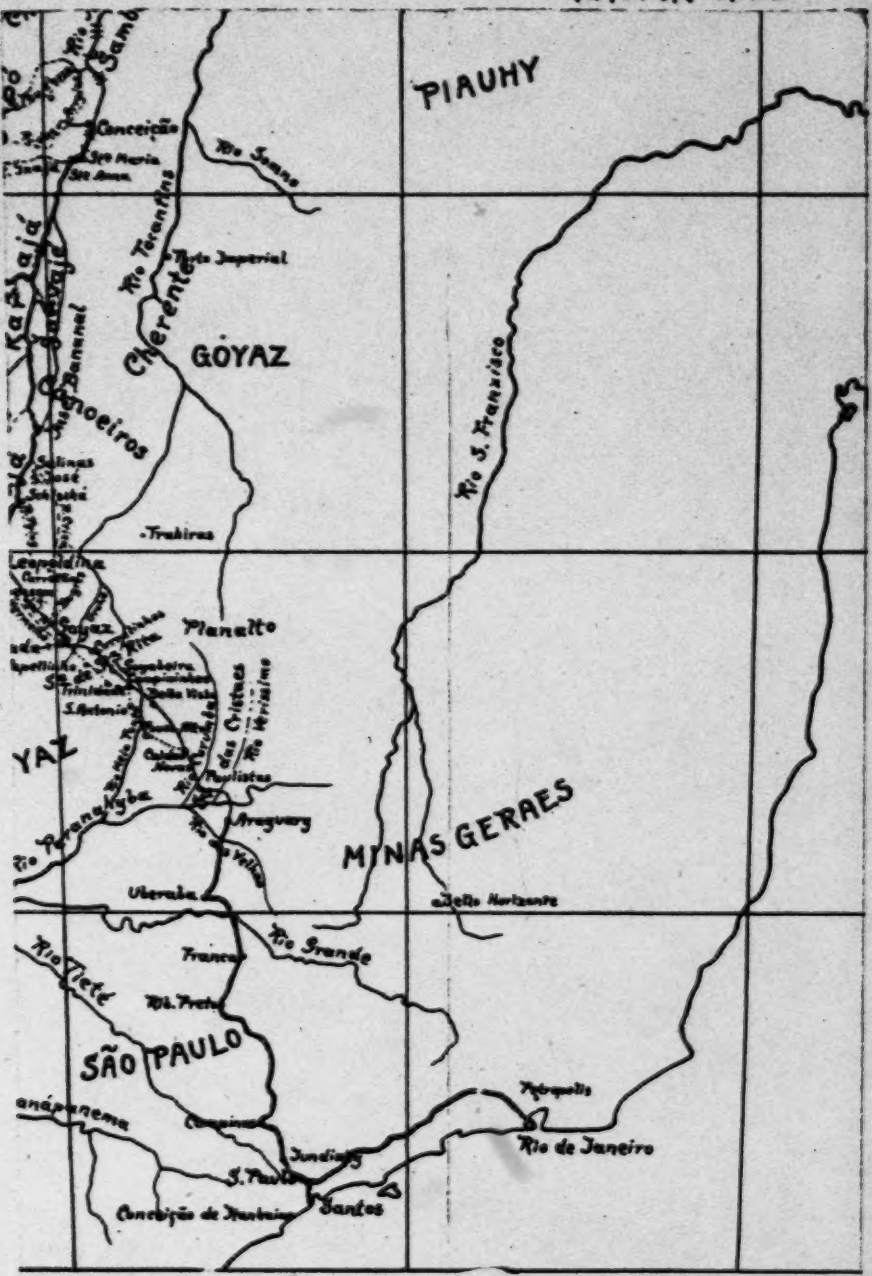
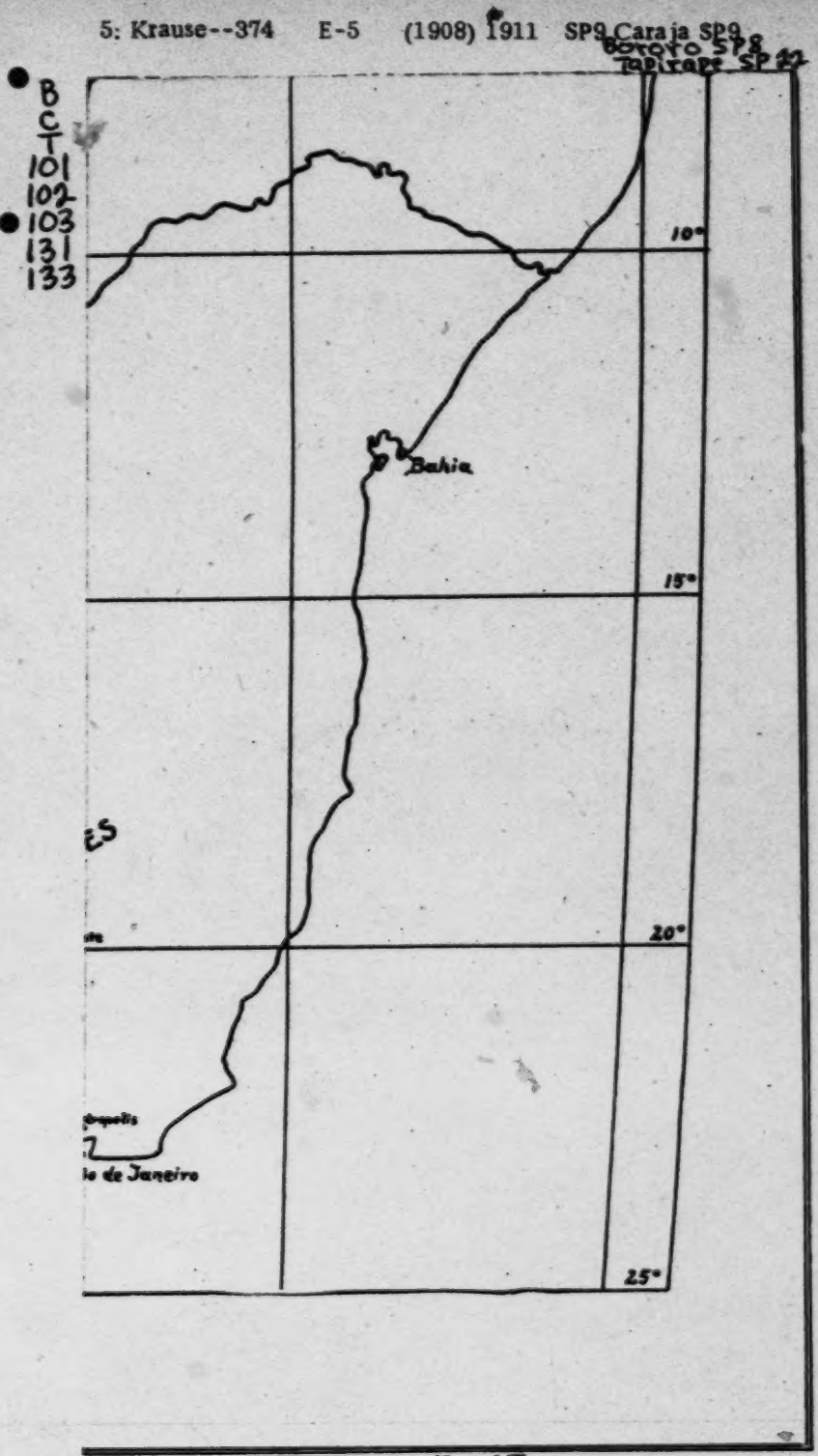


[End Map B-5]


5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
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Tapirapé SP 27
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Janeiro
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[End Map B-6]